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ABSTRACT

A study of communication in a culturally diverse first grade classroom focused on one discourse device, conversational repair, and its use with one kind of conversational difficulty, protest sequences, or arguments. The data collected concerned the children's use of either non-response or conversational engagement following a fellow student's protest, and the evolution of this use in the course of the school year. The non-response frequency curve across the school year suggests that protesting is constrained by a solidarity factor, affected in this case by the classroom seating arrangement and changes made in it. When solidarity is low, as at the beginning of the year or after a seating change, protest is not called for, but when solidarity is high, protest occurs and conversational engagement increases over non-response. It is suggested that if the solidarity concept is extended to include shared culture, it is apparent that cross-cultural conversations are less eligible for the repair they are likely to require because the participants lack shared culture. The implications for culturally diverse classrooms include the suggestion that teachers group children in a way that they will spend a lot of time working and talking with children from culturally contrasting backgrounds, to establish ties enabling them to repair conversations. (MSE)

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# Improving Conversational Engagement in the Culturally Diverse Classroom

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# Improving Conversational Engagement in the Culturally Diverse Classroom[1]

Carolyn Temple Adger

Educators and researchers have been concerned for some time with communication in classrooms whose members come from different cultural and sub-cultural backgrounds. A host of interactional problems can arise when people do not share a culture since cultural differences may mean that they do not fully share a set of expectations about how to use language. Differences in language use that are tied to culture have been identified at every level of linguistic analysis--from aspects of the language itself, such as the set of sounds used by speakers of a particular dialect, to overarching interactive goals that people orient to in their conversations. Such linguistic differences have been shown to be intrusive to varying degrees in cross cultural communication at school. For example, Michaels' (1980, 1982) work on children's stories during sharing time in a primary class uncovered contrasting schemas for developing narratives--contrasts that were linked to different sub-cultural systems. And Florio and Shultz (1979) found that Italian/American children who were "talking out" during lessons were following their own culture's system for when to talk and when to be quiet, rather than the one that was appropriate in the school culture, and thus failing to meet the teacher's different and culturally-based expectations.

But over against the communicative problems that are characteristic of culturally diverse groupings, there are some factors that can help to alleviate them. Recently I studied communication among children in a culturally diverse first grade class, and I found that although their communication was ragged at first, it improved in time. One aspect of this improvement was that children who initially had contrasting conversational styles accommodated later on to another's different style by expanding their linguistic repertoires (Adger 1983). This finding is not surprising since it is well known that people adjust their language to various aspects of the context in which it is being used--including hearers who have other communicative systems. The question for educators is what circumstances seem to promote accommodation. Erickson and Shultz (1982) found that arhythmia decreased in cross-cultural communication when the conversationalists established that they were co-members of something--that they shared some common social identity.

Another factor that can help to alleviate the problems of cross-cultural communication in the classroom, and the one that I want to illustrate here, is the discourse device called conversational repair. Sociologists have shown that we have rule-governed procedures for patching up conversations that run into difficulty (Jefferson, 1972, 1974; Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sachs 1977). Examples (1) and (2) from my classroom corpus show conversational repair at work. In the first one, Alex indicates that he doesn't understand Lucinda, and she repeats her utterance.[2]

(1) (Lucinda is making up a riddle.)

(a) LUCINDA: Ok. 'How do you 'make a h..handkerchief rock?
(b) ALEX: 'What.
→(c) LUCINDA: How do you make a handkerchief rock?
(d) ALEX: Hold it up and you'll see.
(e) LUCINDA: (giggle)

Alex's (b) "What" calls for Lucinda to repair the utterance which Alex didn't understand. She does so by repeating her riddle, (a) "How do you make a handkerchief rock." This time Alex apparently understands, for he responds (d) "Hold it up and you'll see."

In example (2), Sylvia repeats on her own initiative when a piece of her talk is overlapped:

(2) (Sylvia is demonstrating how to do an alphabet writing task)

(a) SYLVIA: (TO LUCINDA) Look, 'what's how it's supposed to be.
(b) JAMES: (DEC) [I don't like orange.
→(c) SYLVIA: Look, here's how it's supposed to be.
(d) JAMES: /?/
(e) SYLVIA: 'A:?, B
(f) JAMES: I'm doin' something.

These examples come from the corpus of video- and audio-taped data which I collected in my year-long ethnographic study of cross-cultural communication among children in a culturally diverse first grade. The 31 children who were enrolled for all or part of the year were from 16 different cultures and sub-cultures. All of the children spoke at least some English, and those who were not fluent went to English as a Second Language class for two hours each day. As in most elementary school classes, the children spent much of the day sitting at individual desks which had been clustered into what the teacher called tables--six desks to a table. Membership at these tables was a salient social fact in this group, often discussed by the children.

The teacher used the table arrangement for socializing purposes, assigning children to tables in order to achieve a mix of ethnicity, scholastic ability, gender, friendships, and so on. Not surprisingly, time spent as co-members of a table had important consequences for cross-cultural communication. Improvements in conversational engagement co-varied not with time spent in the classroom, as I had anticipated, but rather with time spent in the seating arrangements.

Early in the school year, there was evidence of conversational difficulty in the linguistic unit which I isolated--protest sequences (or arguments). Protest sequences have the basic form outlined here:

Protest sequence schema

1. perceived offense
2. protest/(perceived offense)
   protest/(perceived offense)
   protest/(perceived offense
   .
   .
   .
3. Correction

Once the first turn, the perceived offense, has occurred, then a protest is in order. It must be followed by either another protest or by correction. But in the first data set, one hour of talk from early October, more than one-third (7/19) of the sequences were incomplete, as example (3) is.

(3) (Hai has had his hand raised to summon the teacher.)

(a) JAMES: Oh:.
(b) HAI: Yeah. C'mon, Mrs. D.
→(c) AMRI: Shush.
(d) HAI: Look at my hand. I'm tired... Oh no.
(e) /AMRI/: What is it?
(f) JAMES: Oh:.
(g) HAI: Uh:.
(h) JAMES: My hand's tired.
(i) HAI: Me too.
(j) AMRI: Your hand is tired?

Hai, who talked just before Amri's (c) order to shush, talks again after it. He neither complies with Amri's order nor protests it, either of which would be appropriate behavior after a protest, according to the protest sequence schema. Instead, Hai continues talking as if Amri had not protested.[3]

There are two other kinds of non-response in addition to the one we have just looked at, where the speaker whose obligation it is to respond to a protest says something that is not relevant to the preceding protest. In a second sort of non-response, another speaker talks on a different topic; and in the third sort, no one says anything after a protest.

Non-response and conversational engagement

Missing response turns pose a problem for my analysis because they constitute a counter-example to the protest sequence schema proposed here. According to this schema, response to a protest is obligatory by virtue of conditional relevance. When the second part of an adjacency pair is obligatory after the occurrence of the first part, it may still not occur; but since the second utterance is not optional, its non-occurrence is officially absent. Conversationalists

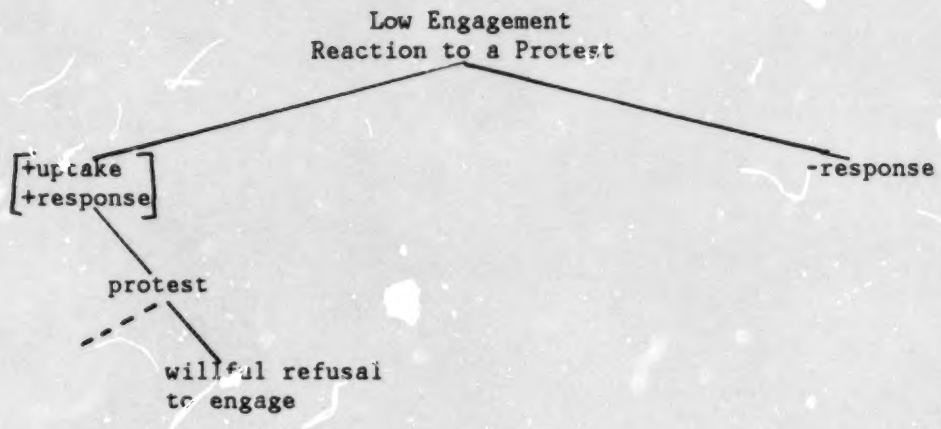
draw inferences about an official absence, and these inferences are taken as the reason, or the "account", for the absence (Schegloff 1972). For this reason, I will offer accounts for the missing response turns in the data being considered here. The fact that participants do not repair or call for others to repair when a protest goes unanswered needs to be explained as well: if the response is officially absent rather than optionally not present, the participants ought to work to produce it.[4]

The non-occurrence of a response has important social ramifications as well as theoretical ones. After a perceived offense, an initial protest establishes conflict and proposes a protest sequence to manage it. When a response is not forthcoming, the proposal is not ratified; and the discourse task (Gumperz 1982) set up by the first two utterances, the perceived offense and the protest, is suspended. Non-response withholds recognition that there is conflict between two children by not acknowledging one child's proposal to deal with conflict.

The two interesting questions, then, are what causes the children's protest sequences to be incomplete so often at the beginning of the school year, and why children don't repair the incomplete sequences. The answer to the first question, the cause of non-response, is complicated by the fact that the same behavior that counts interactively as non-response is also used in responding: sometimes these same behaviors function to end protest sequences since they can implicitly accept some protests. For example, Hai could have accepted Amri's (3c) "Shush" by complying with the order--being

silent. The difference between the implicit acceptance and the non-response functions is that in the former case the form provides correction to a preceding behavior and the sequence is ended, while in the latter it blocks the protest sequence and the conflict is not taken up.

The forms used in non-response are also used in protesting, as willful refusal to engage. This case differs from non-response in that some non-verbal behavior signals that the participant is withholding a full response. That behavior, often gaze and/or body orientation, indicates that a previous protest got uptake (Austin 1962): the hearer recognizes that a protest was made and realizes that a response is in order. But that s/he is withholding a response. Willful refusal to engage is sometimes labeled repairable via repetition of the protest, and sometimes protested vehemently, perhaps because such behavior denies the hearer the basis for making an appropriate next utterance. The difference between willful refusal to engage and non-response is essentially one of uptake: in the former case, the participant who is refusing signals uptake, which is what makes the behavior a refusal; while in the latter, uptake is not signalled.




Explanations for non-response: conversational breakdown

How can non-response to protests be explained? A likely explanation early in the school year is conversation breakdown: children simply may not understand each other sometimes, especially those with limited control of English. In both tapings one and two, the table groupings whose conversations were analyzed include two Asian children who are non-native English speakers, Hai (Vietnamese) and Amri (Malaysian). While Hai was able to communicate in English in October when the first recording was made, his speech was obviously different from that of native speakers, and therefore perhaps not easily understood early in the school year. Amri, on the other hand, had just arrived in the U.S. about six weeks before the taping and knew minimal English. Hai may have failed to understand Amri's "Shush," because Amri did not say it clearly. If that were the case, non-response would be due to the protest's having failed to secure uptake (Austin 1962). Alternatively, if Hai heard Amri but did not know the meaning of shush, he might not recognize it as a protest. In that case too, uptake was not secured.

Even when the audience does understand the meaning of an utterance, they may not understand what sort of function it was intended to perform. This source of conversation breakdown is particularly likely early in a classroom's history. In example (4) from the October taping, Hai may not respond to the formulaic protest, "So what?" simply because he fails to recognize it as a protest due to limitations in his English skills:

(4) (The children have just received their math work sheets and are waiting for instructions.)

(a) HAI: Go:lly:. (FAST) We never have our books.
(b) ALEX: So what:.
(c) ___: Yeah:.
(d) MRS. D: All right. Boys and girls, you notice . . . .

The fact that Hai does not talk after Alex's (b) "So what" suggests that the intent of that utterance may be obscure to him, and that talk proceeds before he has a chance to sort it out and make a response.

Early in the school year, failure to recognize an utterance as a protest that demands a response may be due to cultural differences in managing conflict. Since confrontation is inappropriate for Asians (Binh 1981, Liem 1980), Amri and Hai may not yet be skilled at participating in protest sequences. Sometimes they may simply not recognize all the protesting cues that the other children use. For example, Amri may not recognize James' contextualization cues (Gumperz 1982) to a protest in the following sequence--increased speed and volume: hence Amri may not know that he should respond to James:

(5) (The children have just received their math work sheets and are beginning work.)

(a) AMRI: (LOOKING AT JAMES) What do I do? (dec) What's my name:?
(b) JAMES: (FAST AND ff) I don't know.
(c) HAI: No:? No. That's not mine. This is mine for real.

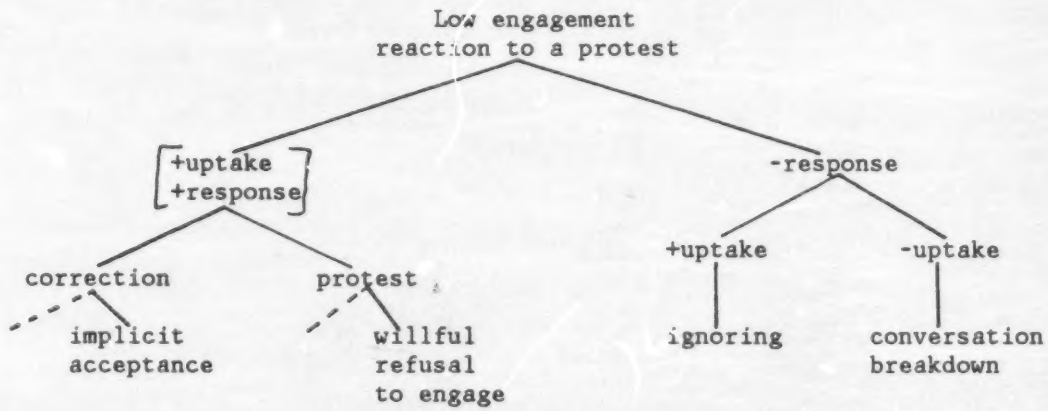
Conversation breakdown is to be anticipated in cross-cultural talk (Erickson and Schultz 1982; Gumperz 1978, 1982; Gumperz and Tannen 1979; Michaels 1981; Tannen 1975, in press). More interesting than the question of why it occurs here is the issue of why the children do not repair it. Why do they allow one-third of the initial protests that occur in the first data set to go without response? It cannot be that they do not know how to repair breakdown: they do repair it elsewhere. Nor is it the case that breakdown can be traced to one or two "culturally different" children whose conversation is generally dismissed or who have different rules for protesting. Four of the six children who sit together during tapings one and two are involved in the instances of non-response, either by not responding to a protest or by not repeating one in order to call for repair to non-response. More than merely allowing non-response, they indeed collude to admit it to the discourse by not holding each other responsible for full participation (McDermott 1983).[5] Tying non-response to linguistic differences at various levels probably explains at least some conversation breakdown in this culturally diverse group, but it does not explain why non-response is supported.

Ignoring as non-response

A second general explanation for non-response is that the potential responders are simply ignoring the protests to them.

Ignoring is particularly appropriate for Asians in face threatening situations like arguments, and several of the children are Asian. Moreover, ignoring is a generally useful interactive strategy for dealing with face threatening acts, both those which threaten the hearer and those which threaten the speaker. Ignoring a protest--conveying that it did not go through--allows the hearer to avoid its potential threat to his/her face and thus the necessity of defending it.

Ignoring is one sort of what Goffman has called fabrication: "the intentional effort of one or more individuals to manage activity so that a party of one or more others will be induced to have a false belief about what it is that is going on" (1974:83). Built on familiar models, fabrications induce hearers to believe that the model is in effect. The model for ignoring a protest is conversation breakdown. Ignoring is simply pretending not to understand. The following diagram summarizes the relationships among the functions that the low engagement behaviors can perform:




On the diagram, ignoring falls between willful refusal to engage and conversation breakdown. It resembles willful refusal to engage, in that both involve uptake on the previous protest. It differs in

that ignoring involves feigning no-uptake to induce the hearer's belief that conversation has broken down and that is why a response is missing. Since uptake is a cognitive process, it is impossible for a protestor to know for sure whether or not his/her protest secured uptake. S/he can only draw inferences from the hearer's behavior. The more successful the ignorer is in repressing indications of uptake, the more likely the protestor is to infer that conversation has broken down. Less successful ignoring resembles willful refusal to engage, a reaction usually considered offensive and thus likely to draw a protest.

Motivations for ignoring abound. Speakers may not want to get involved in a protest sequence: ignoring a protest works like a pass (Jefferson and Schenkein 1978) in throwing the conversational ball back to the protestor. Then too, if the hearer to whom the protest was addressed judges that it violates one or more of the constraints on protesting, s/he may behave as if the protest did not secure uptake even though s/he recognizes what act was intended. For example, if a hearer does not find the alleged offense offensive, s/he may simply ignore the protest instead of protesting it. Or the hearer may judge a protest infelicitous in certain settings or with certain other participants and ignore it rather than protesting its inappropriateness--since doing so would be inappropriate too.[6]

An account for conversational breakdown

Two accounts for an officially absent response to a protest have been offered above: first, conversation may have broken down because a protest failed to secure uptake for some reason; and second, participants may have been capitalizing on the viability of the breakdown reading as an account for non-response--and fabricating it. But the question remains as to why non-response was tolerated, i.e. why it was not repaired. In the data from the October taping, the children repaired low engagement behavior only when uptake was signalled, as in the case of willful refusal to engage. They did not repair conversation breakdown or its copy, ignoring. The high proportion of non-response remaining unrepaired in that taping suggests that the participants accepted conversation breakdown as interactionally fatal at that point: that is, non-response was not repaired because conversation breakdown in the protest sequence was considered irrepairable early in the school year. The account for non-response at that time was that it was a terminal breakdown in communication.

The pattern of non-response across the school year

Six weeks later, non-response had dropped to 16% (9/56), down from 37% at the first taping. Conversation breakdown seems to be lessening--and conversational engagement improving--in the face of children's developing shared code, community, and communicative strategies. Non-response would not be expected to drop to zero since conversation breakdown may occur even when communicative means are highly shared and since ignoring can always be anticipated.

However, contrary to what might be expected, non-response does not continue to fall across time. In fact, it increases slightly. In the March taping, non-response is 22% (7/32), up from 16% in November. Since communicative means ought to be even more fully shared in March than in October, protests ought to get uptake more often at the later time. A possible explanation for the slight increase of non-response in March derives from the fact that when non-response occurs it is not possible to discriminate ignoring and conversation breakdown. The rise in non-response in March, counter to predictions, may derive not from a lack of shared communicative means but from an increase in ignoring. The question then becomes why protests are ignored more often later in the school year, and why protestors tolerate being ignored. What is it that allows the children to maintain conversation breakdown as a fatal account when the causes of breakdown advanced above have, presumably, been mitigated with time? Conversation breakdown is more likely among those who do not share culture (Gumperz and Tannen 1979): what has happened late in the year to stall the progress in culture building suggested in November?

The answer is to be found in a social change paralleling the non-response pattern. The participants in the October and November tapings were identical. The seating arrangement designed by the teacher at the beginning of the school year was modifed only slightly before the first taping. Hai had moved to Table Two (the group whose conversation was analyzed for both times one and two), approximately two weeks before the first taping. Only Amri was new to the class at time one, having arrived in the school two days earlier. The other

four children had been seated together for five weeks by the time of the first taping. By the November taping, the children had been co-members of Table Two for ten weeks (except for Hai and Amri). But at the March taping when the children had been in the classroom for twenty-six weeks, they had been table co-members for only four weeks, since the seating arrangements had been changed. The non-response pattern across the year covaries not with time spent in the classroom but with time spent in the table grouping.

Since table membership is an important social variable for this group, changing that membership disrupts the solidarity relationships (Nash and Wolfe 1957). It is not surprising that altering group constituency can have linguistic consequences since the effect of solidarity on language use has been amply demonstrated (Abrahams 1970; Basso 1970; Brown and Gilman 1960; Labov 1963, 1966).

There is other evidence that solidarity has altered in March.

(6) (Lucinda and Blair have been singing the "Scooby Doo" theme.)

(a) LUCINDA: Do you watch "Scooby Doo"?
(b) HAI: Yes.
(c) BLAIR: I
(d) LUCINDA: Not you.
(3.6 SECOND PAUSE)

Lucinda's question, (a) "Do you watch 'Scooby Doo'?" is probably intended for Blair since the two had been involved in a long conversation. But according to the patterns that were apparent in November, conversations in the table setting are usually open to all members; by those standards, Hai has a warrant for answering Lucinda. Contrary to such an understanding, she treats Hai's answer as an offense by protesting (d) "Not you." Her perception of the rules

governing who may talk seems to have changed since November. Hai is silent after Lucinda's protesting: he does not seize the opportunity to dispute her--though he does protest to her on another point shortly thereafter.[7]

By contrast, in November when table member Kip is oldest of the three times being compared and solidarity thus perhaps greatest, the right to enter a conversation is never denied to a table co-member. The children order each other to stop talking in all of the tapings. The apparent offenses are diverse, but they do not include access to the conversation. Outsiders, on the other hand, are occasionally told to stay out.

(7) (Following a pause in conversation)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (a) | ALEX: | I..I'm gonna bring my..my..my small box to school. |
| (b) | JAMES: | You're gonna bring a small box to school. |
| (c) | LUCINDA: | 'Yeah small:. (WAGS HER HEAD) |
| (d) | HAI: | Yeah, snow:balls. |
| (e) | MANY: | (giggle) |
| (f) | ALEX: | 'Snowballs. I don't have any snowballs at my house. |
| (g) | ALL: | (laugh) |
| (h) | ALEX: | It's not snowing yet. |
| (i) | ALL: | (laugh in unison) |
| →(j) | KEVIN: | (APPROACHING THE TABLE) What..what..(giggle) what. |
| (k) | JAMES: | /?/ |
| →(l) | LUCINDA: | None of your business. |
| →(m) | HAI: | Yeah. |
| →(n) | ALEX: | (LOOKING BACK AND FORTH FROM JAMES TO HAI): Yeah, none of your business. . . . |

Lucinda protests Kevin's (j) "What?" with (l) "None of your business," explicitly accounting for her refusal to answer his question: the business in which members of Table Two had been engaged is not open to Kevin because he does not sit at Table Two. Other members concur, Hai

with (m) "Yeah," and Alex with (n) "Yeah, none of your business." Kevin's bid to enter the conversation is clearly denied.

This snowballs segment from the November taping and the "Scooby Doo' segment (example 6) from the March taping are similar: in both, a joyous interaction is interrupted; and in both Lucinda protests. One might dismiss the incidents as merely illustrating her contentious nature if it were not for the fact that other children cooperate to admit her remarks to the conversation: the other children's echoes of Lucinda's protest in the snowballs segment and Hai's not protesting her protest in the "Scooby Doo" one.

Summary

Non-response is hypothesized to have two general sources: first, conversation breakdown; and second, ignoring, behavior which models conversation breakdown. Interactional snafus are to be expected in a culturally diverse environment, but breakdown is at least theoretically repairable. In October, no repair is offered or solicited for the non-response which follows more than one third of the protests. Since response is conditionally relevant after a protest, as demonstrated elsewhere in the data, its absence is official and therefore repairable. The consistent absence of repair to non-response suggests there is a reason that conversation breakdown is tolerated and even supported.

The non-response frequency curve across the school year suggests that protesting is constrained by a solidarity factor. If conversation breakdown were the only cause of non-response, then non-response would be expected to fall off across the year since the

communicative means for interacting in this community ought to be improving with time. Although non-response does fall by November, it rises slightly later in the year. Since the teacher had changed the seating arrangement shortly before the March taping, solidarity in the table arrangement is probably lower in March than it was in November. When solidarity is higher, protesting is appropriate; then response to a protest is required, and its absence is repairable. But when solidarity is lower--whether at the beginning of the school year or after the teacher has changed table membership--protesting is less appropriate and response to it is less frequent because response validates the protest. Repair does not occur because protesting is not to be insisted upon.

These findings help to explain why engagement in cross-cultural communication sometimes seems superficial. Subject as they are to communication mix-up (Tannen 1975), cross-cultural conversations are often not eligible for the repair which they are likely to require because the conversationalists lack the solidarity base of shared culture. If they have no other strong compensating basis of solidarity, as table co-membership is in the group under study, then they are likely to expect and accept reduced engagement.

Implications of this study for culturally diverse classrooms include the suggestion that teachers group children--whether in seating arrangements or in other kinds of long term groupings--in such a way that children will have the opportunity to spend a lot of time working and talking with children who come from contrasting cultural backgrounds. It is not enough to give children short periods of time

with others who are culturally different from them, because their interactions are likely to break down. They must be allowed to forge the social ties that allow them to repair marred conversation.

## NOTES

[1]I am grateful to Allen Browne, Lynn McCreedy, and Heather McCallum-Bayliss for comments on a previous version of this paper. Likewise, I am continually grateful to Deborah Tannen, who guided me in the research from which this paper derives. Her insights and suggestions greatly enriched my understanding of the data.

[2]Transcription conventions are taken almost entirely from Tannen (1984):

CAPS identify speakers, prosody, and nonverbal behavior.
( ) indicates non-verbal behavior and/or prosodic phenomena not otherwise indicated by special symbols.
.. noticeable pause or break in rhythm
. half second pause, as measured by a stop watch; an extra dot is added for each half second of pause.
/ marks primary stress.
\ marks secondary stress.
underline marks emphatic stress.
' high pitch on word
. sentence-final falling intonation
? yes/no question rising intonation
: indicates lengthening of preceding vowel sound
→ at the left draws attention to following line
→ at the right indicates speech continues without break in rhythm (look for continuation)
(p) piano (as in musical notation), spoken softly
(f) forte, spoken loudly
(dec) decelerando, spoken slowly
/?/ indicates unintelligible segment
_____ indicates uncertain speaker
/words/ indicate uncertain transcription
[ Penned brackets between lines indicate overlapping speech
[ Two people talking at once
Penned brackets with reversed flaps indicate ] Second utterance latched onto first without pause

[3]It is interesting to note that Amri's question, (e) "What is it?" is not answered either.

[4]Calling for repair is much the same as protesting a non-response. Both protesting and calling for repair are face threatening: each jeopardizes both positive and negative face (Brown and Levinson 1979). The difference between calling for repair to a missing response and protesting it is a matter of the degree of outrage that is expressed. It seems unnecessary to draw a line between them.

[5]Allen Browne points out (PC) that there is a three-way distinction among colluding, cooperating, and collaborating to produce a pattern. The difference between cooperating and collaborating can be illuminated by analogy to traffic patterns. Take the case of grid-lock, the phenomenon wherein traffic comes to a virtual standstill during rush-hour because of back-up at intersections. Grid-lock is a pattern produced by people moving their cars in concert with others, but it is not cooperatively produced since cooperation involves working together for mutual benefit. Gridlock is not something that people set out to do, but rather it is a by-product of the interaction required for doing something else (rather like a perlocutionary effect [Austin 1962]): getting cars moving through the intersections. It represents the breakdown of a system designed to benefit everyone.

[6]Felicity conditions for protesting follow:

1. Preparatory conditions:
   (a) The previous behavior by the hearer (H) negatively affected the speaker (S).
   (b) Therefore, S has the right to perform the act of protesting.
2. Sincerity conditions:
   (a) S regards H's behavior as wrong according to a set of his/her criteria for behavior.
   (b) S believes H subscribes to the same set of criteria for behavior by virtue of co-membership.
3. Propositional content condition:
   (a) S disapproves of H's previous behavior.
   (b) Correction of H's behavior is in order.
4. Essential condition:
   Uttering p counts as making a negative evaluation of the preceding behavior and as calling for correction.

[7]Since silence is multiply ambiguous, Hai's silence could be analyzed as acceptance. This sequence illustrates one of the risks of ignoring, namely that a hearer can sometimes choose to interpret that behavior as favorable to his/her face when that was not the ignorer's intention.

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